

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 2734

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TAGS: PFOR, UR, GW, NATO

SUBJECT: SOVIET DETENTE POLICY

AT MAY 13 POLADS, FRG REP CIRCULATED FOLLOWING ANALYSIS OF SOVIET
DETENTE POLICY WHICH WAS PREPARED BY THE FRG EMBASSY IN MOSCOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE SIGNS OF A SHARPER TONE IN SOVIET PRESENTATIONS OF
THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP HAVE RECENTLY INTENSIFIED. IN
SEMI-OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER ARTICLES, FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS
OF DETENTE ARE BEING CALLED INTO QUESTION WHEN THE
SOVIET CONCEPT FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF EAST-WEST
RELATIONS IS DISCUSSED.

2. THE FOLLOWING SOVIET THESES ARE EXAMPLES OF A SHARPER TONE:

3. IN AN ARTICLE IN MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHISM ENTITLED "DETENTE
AND NEW VARIANTS OF OLD DOCTRINES" (NO. 5, 1975), THE
WESTERN DOCTRINE OF THE BALANCE OF POWER AS THE BASIS
FOR EAST-WEST RELATIONS IS REJECTED OUTRIGHT, FOR THE
REASON THAT THIS THESIS WAS, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS,
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DIRECTED TOWARDS HINDERING THE STRENGTHENING OF THE
POSITIONS OF SOCIALISM AND A FURTHER CHANGE IN THE
POWER RELATIONSHIP IN FAVOUR OF "PEACE, PROGRESS AND
DEMOCRACY".

4. IN AN ESSAY IN "NOVOYE VREMIYA" OF 18 APRIL 1975 ENTITLED "TOWARDS NEW FRONTIERS", THE PROGRAMME IS ANNOUNCED THAT, AFTER THE END OF CSCE, THE DIVISION OF EUROPE INTO DIFFERENT MILITARY BLOCKS SHOULD BE OVERCOME. WHAT IS MEANT BY THIS IS ISSUSTRATED BY OTHER THESES DRAWN UP IN THE PUBLICATIONS:

-ANY ANALOGY BETWEEN NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT IS REJECTED AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE; THE WARSAW PACT IS REGARDED AS PART OF THE PEACE CONCEPT FOR EUROPE, WHILE NATO IS ASSESSED AS AN ANACHRONISTIC COUNTERFORCE;

-AS A PART OF THE POST-CSCE PROGRAMME, THE DEMAND IS MADE THAT WESTERN EUROPE SHOULD NOT BE ONE OF THE PROVINCES OF THE "AMERICAN IMPERIUM".

5. THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN EUROPE WILL WORK FOR "SOCIAL PROGRESS" IN THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. IN SOVIET EYES, THE DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT WITHIN THE EAST-WEST DIALOGUE DOES NOT CONSTITUTE INTERFERENCE.

6. MANY OF THESE THESES ARE NOT NEW IN SUBSTANCE. WHAT IS NEW, HOWEVER, IS THAT THEY ARE NOT ONLY BEING HINTED AT IN IDEOLOGICAL TREATIES BUT THAT THEY ARE BEING CLEARLY PRONOUNCED IN PROGRAMMATICAL ARTICLES ON SUBJECTS OF THE EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP. IN ASSESSING THEM, THE INTENDED PROPAGANDISTICAL EFFECT ON THE PLANNED CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES AND ON THE XXVTH CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY SHOULD, OF CORSE, BE BORNE IN MIND. ON THE OTHER HAND, HOWEVER, THESE THESES SHOULD BE SEEN AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF A DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION WHICH IS CHARACTERIZED BY ECONOMIC CRISIS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES AS WELL AS BY LOSSES OF WESTERN INTERNATIONAL POSITIONS.

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7. NOR SHOULD IT BE OVERLOOKED THAT THERE MAY BE A TEMPTATION ON THE PART OF THE IDEOLOGICALLY-INDOCTRINATED POLITICIANS OF THE SOVIET UNION TO REGARD THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WEST AS BEING IN ACCORDANCE WITH HISTORICAL LAWS AND THUS TO OVERESTIMATE THE PRESENT WEAKENING OF THE WEST. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS HARDLY TO BE EXPECTED THAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WILL ALLOW ITSELF TO BE DETRACTED FROM ITS POLICY OF DETENTE BY THIS DEVELOPMENT. AS LONG AS DETENTE PRODUCES THE DESIRED EFFECTS, THERE IS NO REASON TO ABANDON IT. HOWEVER, INVERSELY SPEAKING, ONE CANNOT EXPECT THE SOVIETS TO RENOUNCE THESE EFFECTS JUST TO KEEP DETENTE AS SUCH ALIVE. AS A PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCE, IT IS TO BE EXPECTED THAT THE DUAL NATURE OF THE SOVIET POLICY

OF DETENTE WILL EMERGE MORE CLEARLY. BY DEFINITION, THE
SOVIET UNION PORTRAYS THE MAINTENANCE OF ITS OWN INTERESTS
AS BEING IN CONFORMITY WITH DETENTE, WHILE ANY OPPOSITION
TO THEM AND ANY UNDESIRE DEVELOPMENT IN GENERAL IS
BRANDED AS BEING IN CONFLICT WITH DETENTE.
END TEXT
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